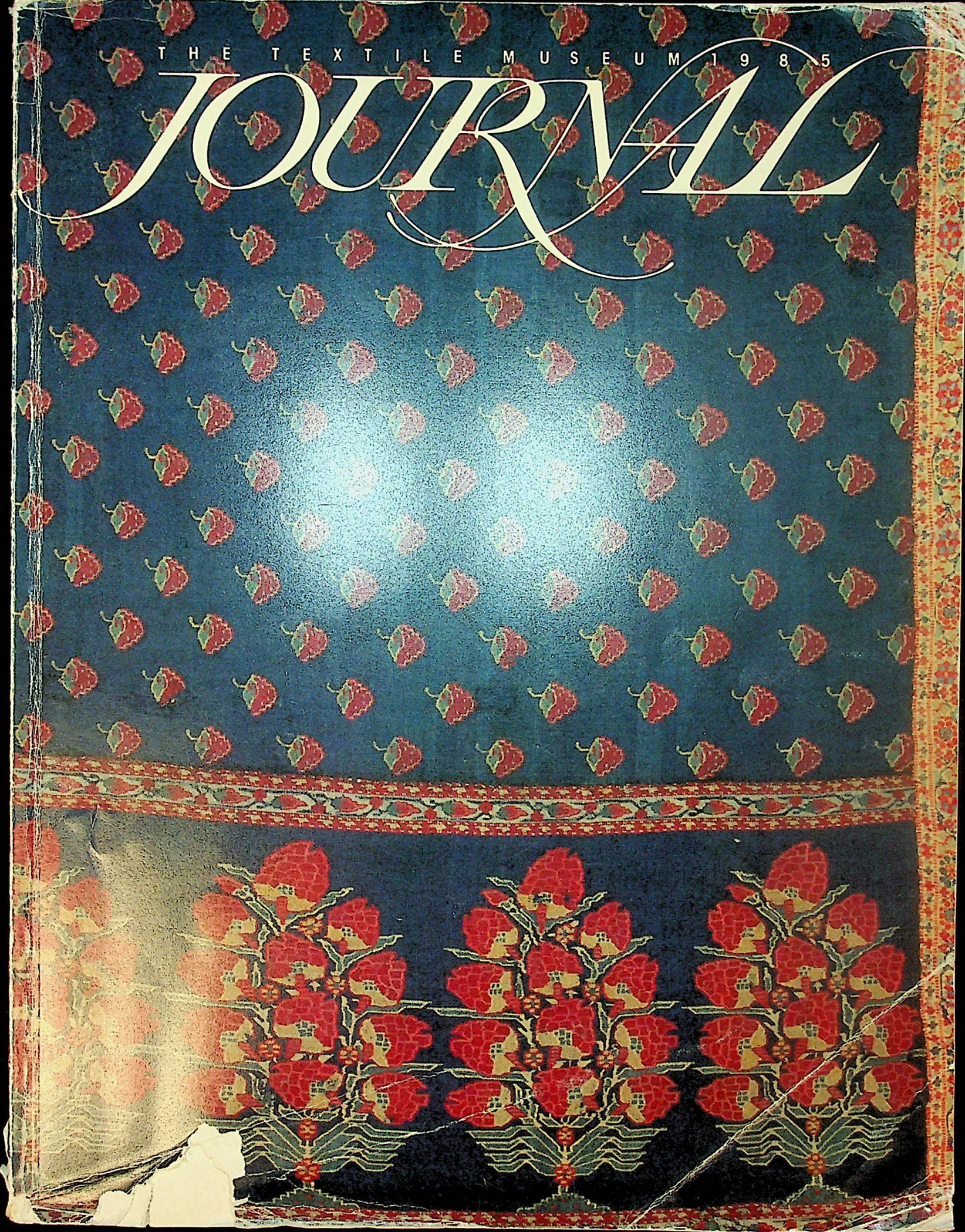


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Note to Contributors:

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Cover: Sash, Kashmir. See "Catalogue of Kashmir Shawls in The Textile Museum," p. 26, cat. no. 3. Photo by Franko P. Khoury.

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THE TEXTILE MUSEUM
60th
ANNIVERSARY
1925 – 1985

The Textile Museum was founded 60 years ago by George Hewitt Myers—one man, who had a vision, a mission, and the consummate good taste to assemble a collection of world class carpets and textiles.

His inspiration was passed on to many who have built upon his legacy to increase the collections, to promote their scholarship, and, above all, to ensure their preservation for the enjoyment of generations to come.

This *Journal* is dedicated to the man and his vision.



Batik Making and the Royal Javanese Cemetery at Imogiri

This paper was originally presented at a seminar at the Center for Cultural Studies, Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta.

Batik from Java has been known to Europeans since the seventeenth century when the first shipment of 2,000 cloths arrived in Holland.¹ The technique was popularized in America during the first decades of the twentieth century as a hobby and handicraft.² While the European and Chinese-influenced batik from the North Coast draw admiration from the West for its bright colors and familiar attractive designs, the romance of the blue-brown batik, which is the legacy of the Mataram kingdom in Central Java, remains unequalled.

Imogiri (Fig. 1) has long been a center of Central Javanese textile production. The major types of textiles identified with the region have been produced in cottage industries meeting the needs of the local population or in home-based extensions of factories in the city of Yogyakarta, supplying urban and extra-regional demand. In particular *lurik*, a locally woven cotton textile usually with warp stripes, was woven on back tension looms, locally called *tenun gedogan*, for personal use and local trade until the 1950s. *Batik*, *tritik*, and *plangi* techniques were used in the past to create ritual cloths and garments for the aristocracy, but today are found in a variety of items produced for commercial markets.³ In recent years, local batik makers have received special attention from the Indonesian government and news media.

Imogiri is best known, however, for the royal cemetery built by Sultan Agung (1613–1645). According to local legend, Sultan Agung was praying at Mecca when he was asked by Sunan Kali Jaga to carry some soil back to Java, with the instruction that wherever the sacred earth fell, he should build his cemetery. The soil fell upon Giriloyo. Construction at the top of the hill thus began as soon as Sultan Agung arrived. But before the cemetery was completed, the Sultan's uncle, Panembahan Juminah, fell ill and died there. After burying him at Giriloyo, Sultan Agung began another cemetery at the top of Bukit Merak, which was later

renamed Gunung Pajimatan. The latter became the famous pilgrimage site, Pasarean Ndalem Imagiri.⁴

The coincidence of the royal cemetery complex and traditional textile industries at Imogiri would probably attract little attention were it not that long-established batik centers in the Yogyakarta and Surakarta (Solo) areas are virtually always associated with major burial sites.⁵ Understanding why this occurred and with what effects helps to clarify some of the information that has produced heated debate among batik enthusiasts and scholars. Close inspection of a "batik village" at the foot of the most famous of cemeteries also illustrates how established village textile industries change.

The Batik Trade in Yogyakarta

The origin of Javanese batik is unclear. Scholars have suggested that the dye resist process diffused from India or China or, alternately, was an indigenous development.⁶ In Central Javanese court culture, batik is considered a fine art possessing the charisma of cosmic forces. It is also produced as a folk art and for commercial purposes.

The development of Javanese batik was clearly responsive to local stimuli. The influences of Chinese and European design upon batik from the North Coast (Pesisir) have been frequently described, as has the inspiration drawn from Indian trade cloths.⁷ Less noted are the effects of local conditions on the growth of regional batik industries. Commercialization and organization of batik production along capitalist lines occurred much earlier in the trade-oriented north than in the agriculture-based sultanates where the aristocracy maintained their role of patron of the arts well into the twentieth century. The control exerted by the central Javanese courts over batik making and use is evidenced by restrictions on the use of certain patterns and the predominance of *lurik* in nearby rural areas until the 1950s, while in other parts of the island, batik was the common cloth of all the population.⁸

The earliest indications of a commercial batik trade in Central Java date from the mid-eighteenth century, following

the division of the Later Mataram kingdom. A wealthy trader class composed of aristocratic Muslim families who had been influential during the reign of Sultan Agung, but had lost favor under subsequent rulers, emerged in Kota Gede.⁹ These merchants grew powerful by supplying the court's demand for luxury goods. Dating the emergence of commercial, but small-scale, batik trade to this time would coincide with the weakening of the Central Javanese autonomy from the Dutch, which caused increased emphasis to be placed on court life. Such emphasis, in turn, would have produced a greater demand for objects associated with court culture including batik, precious metals, and gems, as well as greater control by the court over their possession and use.

Batik was a widely practiced cottage industry in some rural areas prior to the development of urban-based commercial trade. Whether or not this was the case in the Yogyakarta region is unclear. As the batik industry grew, "batik families" were established. It appears that the practice of endogamous marriage within the aristocracy led to the establishment of batik production centers in Muslim (*santri*) enclaves connected with the court, both within the city and at Imogiri. A preference for marriage within the faith as well as within the upper class made intermarriage between residents of Kota Gede, Kauman, and Imogiri common. Later, marriages specifically between children of "batik families" were arranged in order to strengthen the family enterprises and protect trade secrets.

The early batik industry in Yogyakarta was probably organized informally, making hand-drawn batik, known as *batik tulis* to order. The fine work (*halus*) was done by women of aristocratic families, while the less delicate processes were performed by commoners. Several developments in the late nineteenth century led to rapid expansion of the industry and the emergence of a new entrepreneurial class. After 1870, the expansion of roads and railways in Java facilitated mass imports of cheap textiles.¹⁰ It also made the large-scale distribution of Dutch cambric feasible. The copper stamp (*cap*), introduced around 1850, increased productivity dramatically while reducing production costs.¹¹ Urbanization during this period resulted in demand for cheap cloth from city dwellers who preferred buying it to making it themselves. Declining income from agriculture also forced many people to seek supplementary sources of income.¹²

The first entrepreneurs in the new *batik cap* industry in Yogyakarta were former self-sufficient villagers who recruited extra labor from the surplus of agricultural workers and migrants. Concentrated on the southern edge of the city in Karangajen, they were able to draw on both urban and rural sources of labor. The new group of batik traders was distinct from the long-established "batik families" based in Kota Gede. They were wealthy, but not of the aristocracy. Further, their product was intended for a mass market, unlike batik tulis, which has been said to carry the creator's conscious and subconscious essence.¹³ Anyone could make batik cap, while the making of the fine, hand-drawn batik was limited to a few individuals of high (*halus*) character. Interestingly, when the batik industry expanded again in the 1950s, trade

in low-quality (*kasar*) batik tulis was taken up by the newer group of entrepreneurs, for much the same reasons.¹⁴

Batik Making in Giriloyo

Sultan Agung was probably attracted to the hills at Imogiri because of their proximity to his capital at Karta and the unobstructed view of the South Sea. The cemeteries he built there are in a style typical of Central Java and the Pesisir.¹⁵ The spatial organization of villages surrounding these complexes is equally stereotyped. The burial grounds lie at the top of a hill with a mosque located about halfway up the incline. The residential section of the village begins at the foot of the hill, the status of the inhabitants decreasing with distance from the focal point of the settlement. Beyond the dwellings are fields.

The village of Giriloyo lies at the foot of the original cemetery, just to the northeast of the subdistrict market at Imogiri and the main cemetery complex. It comprises three wards (*pedukuhan*) in the hamlet (*kelurahan*) of Wukirsari (Fig. 2). Now part of Bantul, this area previously was administered by the Bupati Imogiri Yogyakarta, who was also a religious official of the Yogyakarta court.¹⁶ The village is connected to Singosaren by an unpaved road. From there, it is 17 kilometers north to the city of Yogyakarta.

Although a number of houses have been built on the surrounding hillsides, all dwellings in Giriloyo are significantly below the level of the mosque. The area closest to the mosque was previously restricted to families of the court retainers responsible for the cemeteries and mosque (*abdi dalem juru kunci*), whose descendants are still in the majority in the Cengkehan and Giriloyo pedukuhan. Many of the houses in this area are spacious and well-built. Some feature antique brass lamps and other indications of the owners' hereditary connections to the court. Although the Yogyakarta and Surakarta enclaves at Imogiri were generally quite separate, several juru kunci (Surakarta) established families in Giriloyo through intermarriage.

The western end of the village (Karangkulon), farthest from the mosque, is mostly inhabited by commoners who have traditionally worked as laborers for their prominent neighbors. The borders between sections have become blurred with time, owing to population growth and political reorganization, but the basic structure remains intact. Status is still connected to place of residence, indicating the strength of the two traditionally endogamous social strata, an elite with ties to the royal courts and a peasantry without such ties.¹⁷

The traditional basis of the social order in Giriloyo has become somewhat obscured by the decline of the Yogyakarta court and religious change. Courtly life and its attendant social practices have fallen into disuse and, since 1965, have gradually been replaced by Islamic conservatism with emphasis on orthodox observance of religious tenets including daily prayer, regular reading of the Koran, fasting during Ramadan, and making the pilgrimage to Mecca. The use of hereditary titles has been prohibited for religious reasons,

making some villagers with connections to the royal courts reluctant to admit them.

Giriloyo has become a well-known batik-making village over the last several years and is a frequent stop on official itineraries in the Special Region of Yogyakarta. Visitors to the village can see batik tulis being made in nearly every household by young girls, mothers, and elderly women. Batik from this village is cited for its halus quality and use of traditional motifs. It was not always a "batik village," however, though certain women have always made batik. As recently as the early 1950s, most women did not make batik. Like the neighboring villages of Pucung and Nogosari, Giriloyo was known primarily for lurik woven on back tension looms. Women wove cloth for personal use, as was the case throughout Java until the early twentieth century.¹⁸ More important, lurik was sold and traded to meet subsistence needs not filled by agriculture.

The area surrounding the cemetery at Imogiri is not well-suited to intensive rice agriculture because of limited water resources and poor soil. A specialized division of labor by gender developed in Giriloyo in response to the environmental constraints imposed on farming. All agricultural activities with the exception of transplanting and harvesting rice became the domain of men. This included some tasks generally done by women on Java such as cultivating plots of dry land (*ladang*). Women were also relieved of the responsibility of collecting firewood. In place of these activities, they produced textiles for local trade in Imogiri and Gunung Kidul. Older residents report that the clacking of looms could be heard constantly all the way from the fields surrounding the outer edges of the village. Textile production has traditionally been a full-time activity for women of this village, who were allowed maximum time at their looms. Income from weaving was small but reliable, because the cloth was the basic component of clothing worn by the rural population in the Yogyakarta region.

The making of handwoven lurik is a labor intensive process. A weaver using a semimechanized loom (ATBM) can produce six meters of cloth per day, while a woman using the traditional loom can complete only six meters in a week.¹⁹ Handwoven lurik can be made using handspun or commercial yarn. When handspun yarn is used, the quality of the finished textile depends on the skill of the spinner as well as that of the weaver. Although weaving is said to have continued in Giriloyo until the mid-fifties, by the end of the Japanese Occupation (1942–1945) it had already declined significantly. The examples of lurik in the village that were available to the author were finely woven from commercial yarn and were owned by juru kunci as part of their official costumes (Figs. 3, 4, 5). The yarn, said to have been imported from Holland, was purchased at the market in Imogiri. Some weavers in neighboring villages also used the fine yarn with good results.²⁰

Weavers in Giriloyo clearly preferred commercial yarn, but the presence of professional spinners (*pemintal*) indicates that handspun yarn was used more frequently at one time. Specialization as a weaver or a spinner was hereditary, passing

through the female line. The division of labor was delineated by class as well as function. There were probably two classes of weavers in the village. One group comprised the female members of juru kunci (Surakarta) households who wove for the aristocracy.²¹ It is possible that commercial yarn was reserved for the ritual cloths and garments required by the elite, while handspun yarn went into cloth for trade and for use by the peasantry. (Pieces woven from handspun yarns were much coarser than pieces woven with fine commercial yarn.) The second, larger group of weavers produced the coarser cloth, *sedang*, and the coarsest cloth, *kasar*.

A similar hierarchy exists among batik makers. Until the 1950s, only women in the families of the juru kunci (Yogyakarta) made batik in Giriloyo. They were permitted to

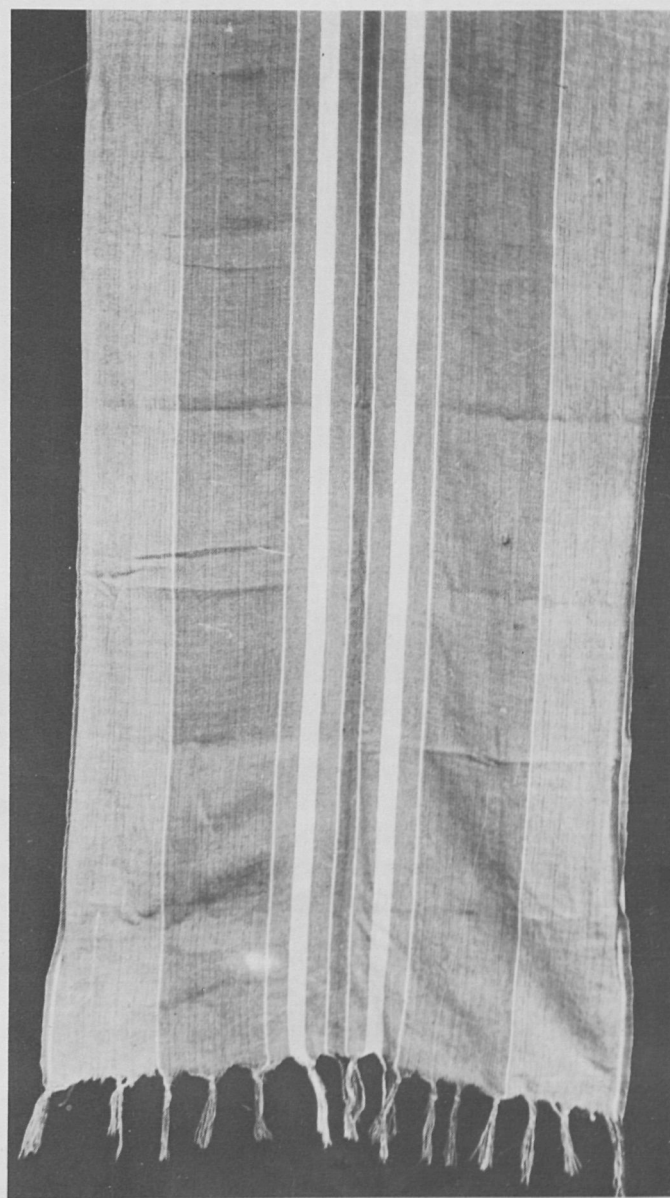


Fig. 3. Lurik selendang woven in the kluwung pattern. Previously this pattern was reserved for the second child in a family of four who survived the deaths of the first and third children. Giriloyo, ca. 1955. Still in use.



Fig. 4. Man's lurik dress shirt (*surjan*). Black with green and yellow stripes. Handwoven from commercial yarn, ca. 1950. Worn with kain batik for ceremonial occasions.



Fig. 5. Man's lurik everyday shirt (*piama*). Red, white, and yellow stripes in kembang gedang pattern. Handwoven of commercial yarn, ca. 1950. Fabric bought in Imogiri market, sewn by a tailor in Singosaren. Worn with kain lurik.

make a limited number of patterns of the *semen* type, specializing in funeral cloths (Figs. 6, 7). The wearing of batik with *semen* motifs was itself restricted to the royal family and *priyayi*.²² In the mid 1950s, a handful of villagers began taking orders for batik from traders in the city and employing their neighbors to fill them. These original middlewomen (*bakul*) were all from the traditional batik-making group and, thus, already had established contacts in the city. As in other areas, women in Giriloyo were attracted to batik making because it offered greater remuneration than hand weaving. There was probably an element of prestige attached as well, since the making of batik had always been restricted to women of the upper class.

Today, all women in the village make batik, with the exception of the family of the Muslim religious leader (*kyai*) and a few who moved there after marriage. The majority make *batik kasar* and some *batik sedang* (low and medium quality, respectively). Close inspection reveals that the small number of women who make halus batik are all descendants of the *juru kunci* (Yogyakarta). Although there are no longer any formal interdictions, the division of batik makers clearly parallels the traditional social order. Makers of batik halus recognize this when they explain that they would be no

more able to do kasar work than would others be able to make batik halus, even if they wanted to.

Within a few years, Giriloyo was converted from a weaving village to a batik-making one. Several supra-village factors made this transformation possible. First, government policy at that time was favorable to the expansion of urban batik enterprises. More important, the postwar period saw the opening of a major new batik market in Yogyakarta. The demand for lurik had already begun to decline among the rural peasantry, and, following independence, the influence of the court over social life steadily declined. The result was a large demand for inexpensive batik in the rural areas around Yogyakarta at a time when batik entrepreneurs in the city were primed for expansion. The demand for halus batik also increased, but to a lesser extent, as a new urban elite emerged and restrictions on wearing certain patterns were lifted.

Unlike hand weaving, a true cottage industry in which the individual weaver owned the means of production and had complete knowledge of the production process, batik making, as it was known in Giriloyo from the beginning, was an extension of urban factory production. Village women performed only one step in the batik process (i.e., waxing), and had no knowledge of the other stages of production. Before

the mid-1950s, the waxed cloths for court use were collected by the wife of the Bupati. It was at that time that a few village women became bakul. With the exception of the bakul, batik makers had no direct contact with the urban traders. The bakul and, by extension, all batik makers in the village became bound to certain traders through the putting-out (*tukar-tambah*) system, in which a new supply of cloth and partial payment were exchanged for the semifinished batik.

In the conversion from weaving to batik making, the traditional village elite maintained their preeminent social and economic position. Initially, they were the only villagers with the resources to become middlepeople, and so they continued to make halus batik while controlling local production of the lower-quality cloth. It was not until the expansion of mass transportation in the 1970s, when travel to the city became readily accessible, that other village women were able to make the connections necessary to act as bakul. Although a number of women who had previously worked for other villagers became bakul in the seventies, they generally work on a small scale and deal in the lowest grades of batik. Their income from trading the semifinished batik is only marginally higher than before they went into business for themselves.²³

The organization of batik making in Giriloyo changed little from the 1950s to the early 1980s. Some new halus designs were introduced, and others were adapted to meet changing tastes. In the early sixties, for example, the traditional *semen* patterns were modified when plain, white backgrounds became popular. Limited product differentiation also occurred. *Sedang*- and *kasar*-quality tablecloths and runners were added to the traditional range of garments.

In 1981, the Department of Industry established a batik project in Wukirsari. Its goal was to improve family welfare by helping women in the *kelurahan* become independent batik producers. Initially, eighteen women from five villages were chosen to become members of a producers' group (now known as Bima Sakti), entitling them to training, raw materials and equipment, and marketing assistance through the Department of Industry and private consultants. About half of the original participants came from Giriloyo.

The producers' group has experienced a number of problems, but is generally considered successful. The larger group (*kelompok*) has subdivided into four quasi-independent groups for the purposes of communal dyeing and marketing. Two of the mini-*kelompok* are located in Giriloyo, each headed by a powerful bakul.²⁴ The two group leaders are relatives and close neighbors, but the rivalry between them is intense.

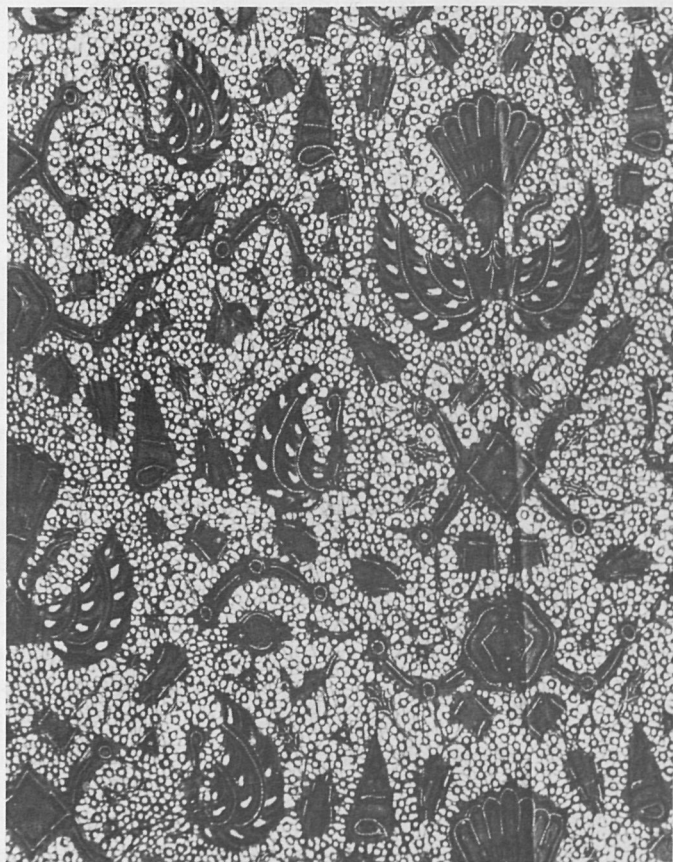


Fig. 6. Semen pattern "Sido Mukti" in traditional style with "ukel" background. Newer versions of this pattern have white backgrounds (*latar putih*) or brown backgrounds with white dots (*riningan*).



Fig. 7. Woman making batik tulis halus with semen pattern.

The development of the *kelompok* has had a noticeable effect on batik making in Giriloyo. In the last two years, the structure of the village batik industry has become increasingly complex as a few *kelompok* members have succeeded in becoming independent producers. Production has diversified to include dress lengths, men's shirts, and wall hangings. New designs are being introduced regularly. One group is even experimenting with nontraditional color combinations. Village women can now choose between selling their semi-finished work in Yogyakarta, to a *bakul*, or to one of the *kelompok*. They also have the option of paying for the dyeing of the cloth and then marketing the finished product themselves.

Being a *kelompok* member carries some prestige, especially for the leaders, who are frequently called upon to host official visitors. Active participation in the *kelompok* is, however, implicitly limited to members of the village elite who have the time and resources to expend and a few others, mostly relatives, whom they employ on a regular basis. Most batik makers in Giriloyo, especially in Karangkulon, remain unaffected by the *kelompok* and continue to work in the established manner for *bakul* who pay from Rp. 250–8,000 per piece, depending on the quality and current demand in the city.²⁵

Two Batik Makers: Bu Y and Bu M

Bu Y is twenty-three years old and lives with her husband and inlaws in a two-room bamboo house high on the hillside. She began making batik at the age of six, learning the skills from a neighbor. The women in her family had been weavers and did not know batik making. Bu Y waxes two pieces of *sedang*-quality batik a month, which she sells for Rp. 5,000 per piece to a trader in Yogyakarta. Her mother-in-law also makes batik, but is only capable of *kasar* work. In a month, she can finish six pieces, for which she receives Rp. 700 per piece from a middlewoman (*bakul*) in the village. Both women work as hired laborers during the rice harvest to earn approximately Rp. 2,400 for three days' work.

Although they live under one roof, parents and children consider themselves to be separate households. They do not pool resources or share expenses under normal circumstances. Neither Bu Y, her husband, nor her inlaws own any land of their own. Each couple works .25 hectares of land owned by the ward leader (*kepala dukuh*), for which they receive 25 percent of the yield. The year 1984 was particularly bad for them. Because of a shortage of rain, the fertilizer they spread over their peanut crop was not properly absorbed and the plants yielded only ten kilograms. With the loss of their maize crop as well, they found themselves indebted Rp. 20,000 at the end of the harvest.

Batik making is the most regular source of income in Bu Y's household. In addition to occasional supplementary cash from working in a neighbor's fields or from the sale of agricultural surplus, she tends a neighbor's goats, for which she receives every other kid. Since Bu Y and her family have no assets of their own and no other close relatives left in the

village, it is unlikely that Bu Y will be able to mobilize the resources necessary to become a *bakul* batik. Bu Y's husband has no formal education, which greatly limits his access to employment outside of the village. Recently, Bu Y began to learn the batik-dyeing process from the wife of the *kepala dukuh*, who is active in Wukirsari's batik producers' group and one of Bu M's nieces.

Bu M is the daughter of an *abdi dalem juru kunci* (Surakarta) and one of Giriloyo's first *bakul* batik. Her husband is one of the few villagers with a university degree and is employed as a junior high school principal in another subdistrict (*kecamatan*). Their two teenage sons board at state schools outside of the area. Bu M, a junior high school graduate, learned batik-making from her mother at the age of ten. Her mother, now in her seventies, is still an active batik trader. Bu M has an independent batik-making business that regularly employs 15 adult women and 15 girls. She also supervises the cultivation of their 2,000 m² of irrigated and 1,000 m² of unirrigated land. Profits from the sale of agricultural surplus are invested in cloth and dyestuffs. Batik sales provide cash for the purchase of seed, fertilizer, and pesticides.

Bu M's skill as a batik maker is well-known, and many other villagers send their daughters to her house for training. Like many women in the village, she prefers to work with relatives, so most of the women and girls who work for her are members of her or her husband's families. In 1981, Bu M became one of the original members of the batik producers' group, and heads one of the two subgroups in Giriloyo. Through membership in the group, she learned to use *naphtol* dyes and was able to expand her business by producing finished as well as semicompleted batik. Bu M has been featured discussing batik making on Indonesian television and in several publications. She is frequently cited by officials as an innovator and model entrepreneur.

Bu M still travels to Yogyakarta twice a month or more to buy raw materials and sell the partially finished batik that she and her neighbors make. She is almost always successful in dealing with her regular trader-customers. She has a number of these *langganan*, which allows her flexibility in bargaining. While in the city, Bu M shops at the central market, preferring it to the smaller, local market at Imogiri.

As an influential woman in the community, Bu M spends a relatively large amount of time participating in various women's groups. She attends monthly meetings of the Dharma Wanita chapter at her husband's school, is treasurer of Bima Sakti, and belongs to three women's savings schemes (*arisan*).

The comparison of Bu Y and Bu M shows how closely class, textile production, and agriculture are linked in the village of Giriloyo. The division of labor by gender in agriculture reflects the historical importance of women's remunerative work as weavers and batik makers. As the village becomes more fully integrated into the market economy and fewer people are actively engaged in farming, dependence upon batik making as a source of regular cash income becomes more pronounced, especially in the poorer households.

The monetization of labor relationships between Javanese villagers is very recent.²⁶ Social relations in Giriloyo are being rapidly transformed by this phenomenon, even though changes in social structure are not yet apparent. Monetization of labor relationships is occurring unevenly, with those sectors of the village economy most integrated into the regional economy changing most rapidly. The transition is nearly complete in batik making, while in agriculture the process is proceeding at a slower pace. Economic change has produced greater polarization between social strata because the traditional elite have disproportionate access to the economic and educational opportunities that have become the basis for socioeconomic mobility. Despite the producers' groups' highly visible accomplishments, equity in terms of income distribution has not improved.

Conclusions

Batik, a fine art in the courts of Yogyakarta and Surakarta, was until recently subject to closely observed restrictions with respect to production process and use. For this reason, it has become symbolically representative of all that is Javanese to both foreigners and Indonesians of Central Javanese origin.

Until the 1960s, it was generally assumed that the batik technique originated in India and was brought to Java by merchant traders, whence it was adopted and monopolized by various royal courts. The Dutch batik scholar, G. P. Rouffaer, was interested in this question, as evidenced by his lengthy correspondence with the tahsildar of Madura.²⁷ In fact, there are two rather different areas of dispute. The first relates to the actual origin of the batik technique used on Java. Evidence of indigenous origin and diffusion from India or China is mostly circumstantial and beyond the scope of this discussion.

The second area of concern is the way in which batik making was organized after the development of the *canting*, a spouted, penlike tool used for applying wax to cloth. Here, too, the evidence is confusing. Foreign observers in Central Java in the seventeenth century reported large numbers of women engaged in batik making within the palace grounds, which led many later scholars to conclude that batik making was a court activity that later spread to rural areas. Restrictions on the use of certain batik patterns and the inclusion of batik making in the aristocratic woman's repertoire of skills have also been cited. Critics of this hypothesis refer to reports of traveling batik artisans, specialist dyers from outside the palace ranks, and the bias of foreign visitors toward the Central Javanese courts.²⁸ A traveler's account written in the 1890s describes women in West Java making "painting" cloth with wax in their homes, a clear reference to batik.²⁹

What emerges is a picture of batik development on Java that is not uniform, especially after the mid-eighteenth century. Commercialization of batik production on the North Coast occurred much earlier than in other areas owing to the region's being situated on important trade routes. In the central Javanese court centers, it is likely that batik production and use became increasingly controlled by the palaces after the division of the Later Mataram kingdom as part of a

general preoccupation with the maintenance of court life in the face of much-reduced political power. The question of whether Javanese batik began as a folk or fine art has not been resolved. What is clear is that the development of batik on the island occurred in response to local conditions, making it possible for cottage industries in outlying areas to coexist with commercialized production in the Pesisir, while the courts of Yogyakarta and Solo exerted significant control in their respective areas of influence.

Where the courts were predominant, batik production and use was urban based, with the less delicate processes performed by common artisans. Batik making in adjacent rural areas was very limited. Villages near the royal cemeteries became batik centers because they fulfilled the crucial requirements of direct contact with the needs of the court through the presence of court officials and a concentration, in the wives of these officials, of suitable artisans.

At the village level, the example of Giriloyo shows that the local textile industries continually respond to changes in the social and economic environment. The organization of textile production at the local level as well as the types of cloth produced are determined by class structure within the village and by prevailing social values. Batik making was first practiced by wives and daughters of the court retainers responsible for the cemeteries and mosque. When the rest of the village converted from cottage-based weaving to batik making in the factory-based production system, these elite women assumed the entrepreneurial roles as middlepeople, maintaining control over cloth production by means of economic advantage derived from their social position. Outside intervention in the form of the batik producers' group has had much less effect on the majority of batik makers in the village than have changes within the village itself.

Acknowledgments

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Notes

1. Pieter Mijer, *Batiks and How to Make Them* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1919), p. 24.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. vi-vii.

3. See Jack Lenor Larsen et al., *The Dyer's Art: Ikat, Batik, Plangi* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Co., 1976), among others, for detailed descriptions of these techniques.

4. The Pasarean Ndalem Imagiri actually consists of three cemeteries, though the name is usually applied to the main complex. In addition to the smaller cemetery at Giriloyo (known as Pasareyan Kesultanan Cirebon), a third, now neglected site lies to the southwest. It is said that it was formerly used for members of the royal family who had fallen from favor or died under suspicious circumstances.

5. The most important of these are Kota Gede and Bayat.
6. There are many published comments on this debate. A few are: G. P. Rouffaer and H. H. Juynboll, *Die Indische Batikkunst und ihre Geschichte* (Utrecht: Uitgave van A. Oosthoek, 1914); N. Tirtaamidjaja, B. R. O. G. Anderson, and J. Marzuki, *Batik: Pola dan Tjorak—Pattern and Motif* (Jakarta: Djambatan, 1964); and M. Gittinger, "Conversations with a Batik Master," *Textile Museum Journal* 18 (1979):29–32.
7. See, for example, M. Kahlenberg, "The Influence of the European Herbal on Indonesian Batik," in *Indonesian Textiles*, ed. M. Gittinger (Washington, D.C.: The Textile Museum, 1979), pp. 243–247; and B. Labin, "Batik Traditions in the Life of the Javanese," in *Threads of Tradition*, ed. Joseph Fischer (Berkeley, Calif.: Lowie Museum of Anthropology, 1979), pp. 41–52.
8. See E. R. Scidmore, *Java: Garden of the East* (New York: Century Co., 1899; reprint, Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1984), pp. 42–45, 260.
9. M. Nakamura, *The Crescent Arises over the Banyon Tree* (Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press, 1983), pp. 34–40.
10. I. Palmer, *Textiles in Indonesia: Problems of Import Substitution* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1972), pp. 15–16.
11. The first waxing of a 2.5-meter length of batik tulis takes two days to two months to complete, depending on the quality and intricacy of design. An experienced stamper can wax approximately 20 meters a day.
12. Palmer, *Textiles in Indonesia*, p. 16.
13. Gittinger, "Conversations with a Batik Master," p. 26.
14. This hierarchy persists to the present day among Yogyakarta batik traders.
15. I. Adrisijanti, *Kekunaan Islam di Imagiri Tinjuan Terhadap Seni Bangun dan Seni Hiasnya* (Unpublished thesis, Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta, 1968), pp. 59–60.
16. The Imogiri area was jointly administered by the Sultanate of Yogyakarta and the Susuhunan of Surakarta from 1755 to 1975. After 1830, Yogyakarta controlled the area, which is now the *kelurahan* Wukirsari, Solo the *kelurahan* Girirejo.
17. The Muslim religious leader (*kyai*) and his family form a semi-autonomous subgroup of the village elite.
18. Palmer, *Textiles in Indonesia*, p. 15.
19. M. Wahyono, *Lurik: Suatu Pengantar* (Jakarta: Museum Textil, 1981), p. 15. This exhibition catalogue includes a detailed description of spinning and weaving techniques.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 16.
21. Women in Pajimatan, at the heart of the Solo enclave, wove and made batik. Possibly, the reason that the Solo elite wove while their Yogyakarta counterparts did not was because of the prominence of lurik in Surakarta court ceremonies.
22. A. Veldhuisen-Djajasoebroto, "On the Origin and Nature of Larangan: Forbidden Patterns from the Javanese Principalities," in *Indonesian Textiles*, ed. Gittinger, pp. 201–222.
23. See R. Joseph, *Women's Work in the Indonesian Batik Industry* (New York: Population Council, forthcoming).
24. The leader of one of these groups has indicated that she will return to working independently in the near future.
25. As of January 1986, US\$1 = Rp.1124.
26. A. Sutoro, *Change in the Village Industry Sector on Java, 1965–1984* (Jakarta: Ford Foundation, 1984, Mimeo), p. 2.
27. Note on the wax and color drawing at Madura (Madras, 1901). Letter to G. P. Rouffaer from Edgar Thurston.
28. See note 6. Additional opinions include A. Sutoro, *Women's Work in Village Industries on Java* (Ithaca: Cornell University, forthcoming); and S. K. Sewan Susanto, *Seni Kerajinan Batik Indonesia* (Yogyakarta: Balai Penelitian Batik dan Kerajinan, 1973), pp. 293–295.
29. Scidmore, *Java*, p. 45.

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